

## Message Text

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PAGE 01     PRETOR 03424 122109Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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O 122030Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
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AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 3424

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, RH  
SUBJECT: SMITH COMMUNICATION TO OWEN

1. HAROLD HAWKINS ASKED TO SEE ME TONIGHT TO CONVEY TEXT OF MESSAGE HE HAD GIVEN EARLIER IN THE DAY TO SIR DAVID SCOTT FOR TRANSMISSION TO LONDON. MESSAGE IS MARKED PERSONAL FROM IAN SMITH TO DR. DAVID OWEN AND READS AS FOLLOWS:

"I AM VERY DISAPPOINTED WITH THE PROPOSALS BROUGHT BY MR. GRAHAM AND BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO HAVE AN EARLY MEETING WITH YOU. YOU TOLD ME YOU PROPOSED TO RETURN HERE IN JUNE AND IT IS NOW ALMOST MID-JULY. I HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO COME IN THE NEXT WEEK OR TWO.

"I SHALL BE REPORTING TO MY CABINET TOMORROW ON THE PROPOSALS OUTLINED BY MR. GRAHAM AND I WOULD HOPE TO BE ABLE TO TELL THEM WHEN YOU EXPECT TO RETURN. (12.7.77)"  
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2. HAWKINS THEN PRODUCED TWO OTHER PIECES OF PAPER DESCRIBED AS COMING FROM GAYLORD AND REFLECTIVE OF THE MOOD

IN SALISBURY. ONE IS ENTITLED "BACKGROUND COMMENT ON THE PROPOSALS" AND READS:

"THERE IS NOTHING IN THE PROPOSALS TO GIVE WHITES ANY CONFIDENCE. THERE ARE NO SAFEGUARDS OF ANY VALUE IN THE CONSTITUTION. THERE IS NO RECOGNITION OF THE PART WHITES HAVE PLAYED IN BUILDING UP THE COUNTRY.

"THERE IS NOTHING TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO STAY. THERE ARE NO INCENTIVES TO CIVIL SERVANTS OR THE ARMED FORCES TO STAY.

"THERE IS NO EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE OF PENSIONS. NO PENSIONS WILL BE PAYABLE UNTIL RETIRING AGE UNLESS THE PERSON IS DISCHARGED BY THE AFRICAN GOVERNMENT."

THE SECOND PAPER HEADED "GENERAL FEELINGS" STATES:

"WE ARE ASKED FOR "UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER" - IT IS A WHOLLY BLACK CONSTITUTION.

"IAN SMITH REMAINS THE ONLY MAN WHO CAN SELL A SETTLEMENT TO RHODESIANS. THESE PROPOSALS MAKE HIS TASK IMPOSSIBLE.

"BRITAIN SEEMS TO BE LEANING OVER TO PLACATE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE PROPOSALS INVITE CERTAIN CHAOS.

"IF ANYTHING IS TO BE SALVAGED DR. OWEN SHOULD COME OUT.

"THE RIGHT-WINGERS WILL BE ABLE TO CRITICISE IAN SMITH - "WE CONFIDENTIAL

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TOLD YOU SO....FROM KISSINGER ONWARDS....ETC."

"DETECT VINDICTIVENESS (BUT NOT ON PART OF STEPHEN LOW).

"RUBBING OUR NOSES IN IT."

3. I ASKED HAWKINS WHY SMITH WAS TAKING SUCH A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PROPOSALS WHEN IT WAS CLEARLY TO HIS ADVANTAGE TO BE FORTHCOMING AND COOPERATIVE. A JUSTICIABLE BILL OF RIGHTS, CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES AND ZDF WERE ALL DESIGNED TO CREATE THE CLIMATE WHICH WOULD FACILITATE THE WHITE MAN STAYING AND WORKING FOR THE NEW STATE. HAWKINS REPLIED THAT EXPERIENCE IN AFRICA SHOWED THAT SUCH ASSURANCES WERE OF LITTLE VALUE ONCE BLACKS TOOK OVER THE GOVERNMENT. HE ARGUED THAT SMITH'S MESSAGE TO OWEN WAS NOT NEGATIVE BUT POSITIVE IN ASKING HIM TO COME TO SALISBURY SOON.

4. I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO ASK HAWKINS IF THERE WERE ANY SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THE FACT THAT SITHOLE HAD RETURNED TO SALISBURY LAST SUNDAY AND MUZOREWA IS REPORTED TO BE ARRIVING NEXT SUNDAY. HAWKINS CLAIMED THAT THEY WERE RETURNING TO MEND POLITICAL FENCES, AND THERE WAS NO PLAN FOR A FRESH

BID AT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IF THAT IS WHAT I HAD IN MIND.  
HE OBSERVED THAT FOR THE TWO BLACK LEADERS, INDIVIDUALLY  
OR TOGETHER, TO ENGAGE IN SUCH AN EXERCISE WOULD BURN THEM  
SO BADLY POLITICALLY THAT THEY COULD NOT AFFORD TO DO SO.  
ON THE OTHER HAND, CONTINUED HAWKINS, BOTH LEADERS COULD  
APPEAL TO PEOPLE IN RHODESIA AND IN ZAPU AND ZANU CAMPS ON  
THE PERIPHERY AND THEREBY HAVE AN IMPORTANT IMPACT ON THE  
FLOW OF RECRUITS.

5. COMMENT: THE LATTER OBSERVATION SUGGESTS THAT AMONG THE  
REASONS FOR FACILITATING THE RETURN OF THE TWO LEADERS IS  
THE SHORTER TERM OBJECTIVE OF COUNTERING INTERNALLY THE APPEAL  
THAT NKOMO OR MUGABE MAY BE DEVELOPING.

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## Message Attributes

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